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159 253 946 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sxoxomi'x). Herman dipped up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 846 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'ux-ten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

753 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

[4] See page 141.

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privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible." (Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives. 852 848

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass. 854

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medicines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[1] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part. 753 757 784 854

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child. 846

No unusual treatment was accorded twins. 845

### THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month. 854

[1] See pages 215 f.

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Rape was punished by severe lashing. The woman was never forced to marry the man for he was considered "no good—not good enough for anybody." (Burke) Women were most often assaulted when found alone while picking berries or gathering fuel. A woman was rendered helpless by a blow across each arm with a heavy club.

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When an illegitimate child was born the mother was called before the chief and an attempt was made to learn from her the identity of the father of the child. If the girl would not tell she was whipped, but even under such treatment a girl sometimes refused to name the man. If the father were discovered he was punished (lashed) and required to marry the girl if her parents would consent. The wishes of the boy's parents were not considered. If the marriage were not effected the mother allowed someone to adopt the child or kept it and cared for it with the help of her family. A woman who had borne an illegitimate child was treated respectfully and in no sense ostracized, but she was often "talked about behind her back." The many children that were born out of wedlock were not treated differently from others, either as children or adults. One of them might be taunted by other children if he were ignorant of who his father was, but such was seldom the case. He was told by his mother or others.

Prostitution was common, as might be expected in a polygamous community. It was common knowledge that certain women could be had by anyone at any time. It was an insult to be called a wi'lxwit, the term applied to a prostitute. Even those whom the name fitted resented it. These women received no payment for their services. They were probably hypersexuals and those who were not sufficiently attractive to obtain a husband. In striking contrast to traditional Sanpoil standards "these women did not care how a man looked." (Burke) Prostitutes, however, sometimes eventually married. Burke told of s——,[16] "the loosest woman ever known in this valley," who finally married. At forty or forty-five years of age she married s——, a Sanpoil. The latter had been married before. The common objection to marrying a prostitute was not a moral one, but the fear that she would not remain faithful. Although prostitutes were not ordinarily molested, their profession was not openly recognized. If concrete evidence were obtained against one and brought to the attention of the chief she was lashed. The men involved might be punished as well.

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The attitudes toward incest were particularly well formulated in a myth relating an instance of brother and sister incest and accounting for the origin of death. Extracts from the myth follow:

There was a chief. He had a son and a daughter. The daughter was living by herself in the puberty hut. She was there for a while. She kept thinking, "I don't see anyone that I want to marry; I don't know anyone good looking enough." Her brother was thinking the same thing. "I'm good looking and so is my sister; I'd like to marry her." His sister was thinking the same thing.

One night when the boy went to bathe, he went to his sister's hut and stayed with her until nearly morning. He came home and fell asleep. He hadn't slept much, so his mother had to wake him. The next night he did the same thing.

[16] Personal names have been omitted from this section and initials used instead. Small letters are initials of native names, capitals are initials of English names.

such a one was wI'ôwxina, literally (?) "she don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody." These girls never learned to be good. There were never many of them. They never worked but were supported by their own people, even though these did not like them. If a girl was always bad, going with many men, she would not have a chance to marry well. In fact, girls who had many illegitimate children would never marry. If a father found he could not halt her and tired of the disgrace, he marched her out to the woods and shot her with arrows, leaving her without burial. Not every boy would have dealings with such loose girls. The sons of "nice" people would be "nice." But every boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse before marriage. 831 836 [684]

Illegitimate births occured, and the shame of them was lived down. A girl who had already had a baby married, and brought up the child with her later children. There was no way of forcing the man involved to marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination mechanism to determine his identity, and if accused he had only to deny the allegation. He might, however, have married the girl of his own volition. 848

However, at the time of the occurrence it was considered rather shameful, and was so felt by the girl involved. Therefore girls who became pregnant as a result of an illicit affair attempted to produce abortion by violent pressure, as by falling on their abdomens across a log. If this failed they were said sometimes to kill the child if the fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently secret. 847

There was also a magical contraceptive brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget Sound tribe. She would arrive in the Wenatchi country every summer in the days of Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed the women to eat the leaves of a bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark green, shiny leaves are small and pointed, and in general shaped like those of a tobacco called sqwûll's.) This plant was said to grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was male, the non-blossoming variety female. Women who did not want to have children would eat these leaves after menstruation for a year. This assured permanent barrenness, but its effect, or barrenness from any other cause, might be counteracted by eating the leaves of the female or non-blossoming plant. The point of the leaf was opened with a sharpened twig; it was then blown full of air and swallowed. If the leaf could be blown up without bursting, the woman would conceive. For example, Mary's sister was married many years, but had no children. A year after taking this cure she had a child and later two more. Some women who were barren always burst the leaves when they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon women learned which bush was used, they would get the leaves themselves, asking the bush for help while picking them. In the days 842 824 842